

Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 218596

NODIS

CHEROKEE FOR THE AMBASSADOR ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT AMMAN 6506 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 9/11/77.

QUOTE S E C R E T AMMAN 6506

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PBOR, JO, IS, US, XF

SUBJECT: WEST BANK, PLO, AND JORDAN

REF: A) AMMAN 6436, B) TEL AVIV 6778

1. I HAVE A FEW COMMENTS TO OFFER ON SAM
LEWIS' FOLLOW-ON TALK WITH DAYAN.

2. KING HAS CHANGED HIS TRADITIONAL POSITION
ON RECOVERY OF TERRITORY ON WEST BANK IF WHAT
DAYAN SAYS IS TRUE. IN PAST HE AND HIS CLOSEST
ADVISOR (THEN ZAID RIFAI) ALWAYS LET US KNOW
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IF THEY COULD GET BACK WEST BANK WITH MINOR
RECTIFICATIONS THEY WOULD TAKE IT, AND DEAL AFTERWARD WITH
THE ARABS IN WHATEVER WAY THAT FORCED THEM
TO DO SO.

3. I DO NOT BELIEVE KING IS AS WORRIED ABOUT
A FUTURE PALESTINIAN STATE AS DAYAN INDICATES.

THIS HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL ISRAELI POSITION,
FED TO JOURNALISTS, AND WHICH IS NEARLY FIRST
QUESTION THEY ASK WHEN THEY COME OVER HERE
FROM WEST BANK. THE NEW ELEMENT IS OF COURSE
THE U.S. POSITION ON THE PLO AND I AM STRUCK BY DAYAN'S
EMPHASIS ON IDEA THAT HUSSEIN WOULD NOT TAKE BACK WEST BANK
"AS LONG AS...U.S. CONTINUED TO TALK AS IF THE PLO WERE AN
INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATING
PROCESS." I FEEL HUSSEIN SHARES THIS CONCERN,
BUT NOT TO THE POINT WHERE IT ACTS AS A STOP
ON HIS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT BACK THE WEST BANK IN TACT
OR VIRTUALLY SO.

4. HUSSEIN HAS ALSO NEVER EXHIBITED THE KIND
OF FEAR OF A PALESTINIAN STATE POSTULATED BY
DAYAN. IN PART PERHAPS BECAUSE HUSSEIN SAW
ISRAEL AS HIS FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE AGAINST
SUCH A DEVELOPMENT. IN PART ALSO BECAUSE HE
REALLY BELIEVES EAST BANK PALESTINIANS ARE
SATISFIED WITH THE REGIME AND THAT IN THE OLD
DAYS JORDAN WAS ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF FROM
PALESTINIAN MACHINATIONS, EVEN WHEN SYRIA AND IRAQ
BOTH PROMOTED SUCH. TODAY HE IS STRONGER INTERNALLY AND MILITARILY
AND ANY PALESTINIAN STATE THAT MIGHT EXIST WOULD
BE LITERALLY SURROUNDED BY JORDAN AND ISRAEL
AND ALMOST CERTAINLY DEMILITARIZED.

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5. OBVIOUSLY, IT IS APPARENT THAT DAYAN'S
EMPHASIS ON DEALING WITH EGYPT AND SYRIA NOW IS BASED ON
SOMETHING MORE THAN A PERCEPTION THAT HUSSEIN CAN DO
NOTHING ON THE WEST BANK. THAT HUSSEIN CAN DO NOTHING HAS
BEEN SOMEWHAT SPURIOUS, BUT TIME-HONORED ISRAELI ARGUMENT FOR
PROCEEDING IN WAYS WHICH PRESERVE WEST BANK FROM
BECOMING AN OBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS. IN VIEW
OF UNCERTAINTY WHICH REPORT RAISES ABOUT
HUSSEIN'S POSITION AND MY OWN CONVICTION ABOUT
HIS APPROACH, I WILL ATTEMPT ON HIS RETURN FROM
PARIS AND AFTER 'ID HOLIDAY TO REVIEW WITH
HIM CERTAIN OF THESE POINTS WITHOUT IN ANY
WAY POINTING TO OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE
ISRAELIS. CERTAINLY THIS SHOULD PROVIDE SOME
ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND FOR DAYAN'S WASHINGTON
DISCUSSIONS.

6. RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT REPEAT TO TEL AVIV
AND WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY.
PICKERING UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

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